THE New Republic

Why Should the US Come to India's Rescue?

Pages 3-4

"With All Deliberate Speed"

Is Arkansas the Exception or the Rule in the South? A Southern Editor Reviews the Degree of Compliance with the Supreme Court's Desegregation Order

By DON SHOEMAKER

Here's Miss America—And Daddy . . . . . *Philip Roth*

Wyndam Lewis' War on the World . . *R. A. Scott-James*

Keepers of the Constitution . . . . . *Alfred L. Scanlan*

SAGITTARIUS on Adenauer's Victory

SEPTEMBER 23, 1957

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Washington Wire

Just a Dream

HAD A QUEER dream the other night—after listening to Eisenhower's amiable farewell to Governor Faubus of Arkansas—"Well, good luck to you. I hope it all works out all right!"

This time (in our dream) the big Navy helicopter came down on the lawn before the crowd and out stepped a colored girl. Everybody cheered. "I'm Elizabeth Eckford," she said. "I'm 15. Yes, I was one of those who tried to go to the Little Rock Central High School. The soldiers wouldn't let us through. It wasn't the guns—it was that crowd! They jeered me and booed me and shouted terrible things. I tried so hard not to cry. Have you ever been booed? Oh, I was so frightened! But I didn't run away. That was why the President summoned me. I just felt I mustn't run away because I am an American."

We watched the milling newsmen follow Elizabeth (in our dream) up to the White House, just as Governor Faubus had done. Then they dashed back to their wires with a final quotation. One of them was reading it to the others. "Here it is," he said—

"It was so good of the President to invite me! He said he felt he should hear both sides. He said youngsters like me represented the true America; that he was awed sometimes, as a soldier, at the courage Negro children are showing. Hi—Western Union!"

Quite a dream, eh? Meanwhile—

—When Nellie Forbush in *South Pacific* said she came from "Little Rock," in the lines of the play, a crowd in Westbury, N. Y., hissed the name so hard it stopped the show for minutes.

—According to a Paris dispatch in the AP, Sept. 13, "almost the entire French press" stressed the fact that Eisenhower was in Newport playing golf and would receive Faubus there between rounds."

GOP—Knowland is running hard for the California Governorship against Knight and will formally announce it around Oct. 1. Chances are, contrary to reports, Nixon will back Knowland or stay neutral; if elected Governor the latter will in turn back Nixon for the presidency in '60. Knowland has shocked labor by supporting right-to-work curbs against unions (contrary to Knight's stand): state primary may turn on that. Knowland is only 49 and able to wait for White House try till after Nixon.

Democrats — Whole Lyndon Johnson strategy of plastering over party's civil-rights' fissure cracked afresh because of Governor Faubus and Thurmond's one-man Senate filibuster (which was directed more against other Dixie Congressmen than the school bill); strongest pressure on Faubus came from fellow Dixie politicians.

Congressional election, 1958 — Despite Faubus, Democrats should lambaste GOP in midterm battle. Ike couldn't carry Congress with him in '56 landslide and he has slipped since. Ike shows tendency of becoming more conservative as "New Republicanism" glow fades.

Warren Won't Run

PRESIDENTIAL election, 1960 — Accurate forecasting impossible but chances still hopeful for Democrats. Eisenhower could win a third term despite age, heart, or anything, but he can't run. Desperate GOP will look for new "front," try Warren, but this column can say definitively and from knowledge Chief Justice will *not* accept even a draft. (Wait and see.) Diminished Administration popularity would damage Nixon, depending on its scope, but he is already disassociating himself from it. Nixon will present himself as a "liberal," has national reputation (plans to return Queen Elizabeth's visit soon for increased prestige), and is admittedly tough and efficient. He will look pretty good to millions who will want to see whom Democrats pick.

Our forecast: a "middle-road" Democrat who appears to compromise himself by placating South (as Adlai seemed to do) will be defeated; a Northern liberal who tells South to go jump in the lake has bright prospects.

The I-Don't-Like-Its

RETIRING from the International Cooperation Administration, Director John Hollister reveals that the secret US foreign-loan policy is not to make loans to industrial projects in underdeveloped countries when private enterprise might do the job.

Hollister is one of the Eisenhower "I-don't-like-it" men picked to head agencies they don't like. TVA board members Vogel and Jones don't like TVA. Albert Cole, made administrator of public housing, always voted against housing as Kansas Congressman. Ex-Congressman Joe Talbor didn't like the Reciprocal Trade Act; he was made Tariff commissioner. Edward Howrey was made chairman (since resigned) of the Federal Trade Commission after 20 years of lobbying for firms accused before the FTC of antitrust violations. And so on . . . Gas utility lawyer Kuykendall didn't like the Federal Power Commission; he was made chairman. Bell System lawyer McConnaughey didn't like the Federal Communications Commission (which regulates long-distance telephone rates); he was made chairman. I-don't-like-it Hollister quits and confusion results. Under this appointive system confusion is apt to result.

Notes

IF HOFFA wins the Teamsters' presidency Sept. 30 the AFL-CIO will throw the Teamsters out . . . Farm surpluses continue to pile up; they were $1 billion when Eisenhower promised to end them in 1953—$5.3 billions today; the Soil Bank isn't stopping them. . . . Business listened in disbelief to Eisenhower advising consumers to combat inflation by buying less; with a recession threatened consumer purchases have already hesitated; Eisenhower's advice is like putting an anemic patient on a diet.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic

A JOURNAL OF OPINION

SEPTEMBER 23, 1957

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Correspondence

► *The Question of Population*

SIRS:

CONGRATULATIONS on publishing John Rader Platt's excellent article, "The Delicate Question of Population" (*NR*, Sept. 2). With broad perception he has laid bare the fact that there is a *Fifth* Freedom—namely, *elbow room*—which we are losing fast, and if we are to recover it, we must reduce our future numbers by many millions.

A refreshing aspect of Mr. Platt's approach to the solution of overcrowding is his confidence in the power of positive incentives, and, although he does not go into the international field, the possibilities of this approach are doubly exciting there. For instance, if the people of every economic region come to realize that they can attain their highest possible standard of living only through a continuing perfect adjustment of their region's numbers to its developing natural and technological resources, that knowledge can make them free.

(*Continued on page 23*)

SOS from India

ALTHOUGH it is more blessed to give than to receive, it is also easier. And when the nation which receives is the ancient civilization of India, jealous of a national sovereignty just 10 years old last month, the strain on self-respect which borrowing imposes is great. Because we are so accustomed to financial demands from abroad, we may miss the historic significance of the $600 million loan requested last week by Prime Minister Nehru and scheduled for discussion when visiting Indian Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari confers with Secretary Dulles.

It has been known that India desperately needs foreign exchange for her Second Five Year Plan. But now, for the first time since the 1951 Wheat Loan (a much smaller request), India has come right out and asked Washington to speed to its rescue.

How did New Delhi get into a jam so serious that nationalist pride had to be pocketed? It is a crisis of development which, while it might have been postponed, could not have been avoided. India's Second Five Year Plan started off last year with a built-in deficit of at least $800 million. Some critics said that it was too "ambitious," that industrialization should be postponed until India could pay its own way. But political necessity forced Nehru's Congress Party to hold out some slight prospect of industrial progress. Is it too "ambitious" to project an increase of $15—$60 to $75—in per-capita annual income over a five-year period, especially when everyone knows that population pressure will imperil even this much of a gain? To India's intellectuals, industrialization seems the only hope for absorbing unemployed millions: to tell them there cannot be even the beginnings of industrialization is to tell them there cannot be hope for India to stay where it is, let alone to catch up with the West. And where there is no hope, there will be drift to totalitarian political movements—not only Hinduphile and Communist, but all the parochial movements lying dormant in the social soil of India.

Although India's planners knew they would have to get outside aid to fill the foreign-exchange gap in the Plan, they did not realize how soon the crisis would come. In 1956-57, India's foreign exchange reserves have dropped by $435 million as a result of imports of food-grains (necessitated in part by droughts and floods) and of machinery for new industrial ventures, both privately managed cotton and jute mills and government-controlled steel mills. As a result, whether or not the US comes to the rescue, the Plan is being trimmed. If the US should not grant the loan, even "core" enterprises in steel, mining, and power development will in large part have to be abandoned.

The USSR is already building the Bhilai steel mill in central India (on a 12-year, 2.5 percent loan) and negotiations are underway for a $126 million loan. It is doubtful, however, whether the Soviet Union is in

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any position to do much more in the foreseeable future. Nor do Indian leaders want to become too committed to Moscow. A positive response from Washington at this time would deflate Soviet pretensions as effectively as indecision and ultimate rejection by the US would leave the Soviet Union free to pose indefinitely as the best hope of Asians who want rapid industrialization of their nation.

For this reason it was incredibly inopportune that outgoing aid administrator John B. Hollister should have chosen last week—the eve of Krishnamachari's visit—for a policy broadside proscribing the use of aid funds in publicly-directed industrial development abroad. Hollister's directive may have been intended for domestic consumption, but it was "mischievous" (as a State Department official put it) in its effect abroad. For is this not what the Communists have charged—that American aid is merely a means of extending the power of private capitalists? ("You Americans," Finance Minister Krishnamachari once remarked to a US journalist, "like to be very 'left' on land reform. You have some sort of romantic sympathy when we break up estates and you will see us do anything, no matter how drastic, to our landholders. But when it comes to industrial and economic policy, you hold up your hands at the idea of state ownership—even a mixed economy. You just don't understand our conditions.")

WHAT, specifically, should the US do? Not much can be expected through the World Bank, which is already lending India $360 million; or the Export-Import Bank, which stipulates that its funds be used to purchase US products; or the new Development Loan Fund, which was pruned by Congress to $300 million (for all countries!). India might well be given a generous share of the $1 billion in government-held agricultural surpluses available for export. But even if India gets a disproportionate share—say $300 million—this would be in the form of loans in local currency (made from the proceeds of wheat, cotton and rice sales in India) and not more than half of this sum would represent a savings in foreign exchange.

The Administration should, we believe, introduce as a matter of the highest priority in the next Congress special loan-to-India legislation modeled after the $3.75 billion British loan bill of 1946. This should provide for at least the $600 million mentioned by Nehru, apart from what smaller supplemental sums may be available from other sources. Perhaps, as Krishnamachari has proposed, part of the loan might be kept in the United States as backing for Indian currency (India would then draw on sterling reserves in London for ready cash). But whatever the form, the Administration should certainly respond favorably to India's straightforward SOS and go to Congress without ifs, ands or buts.

Goldwater's Racket

JAMES R. HOFFA: I don't propose as one person to become involved in a situation as to where anybody is going to call me into a room and tell me, "This is what you are going to do" or "This is what you are not going to do." My experience is, when you endorse a candidate on that basis, you just went out of business.

SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER (R, Ariz.): Well, Mr. Hoffa, I think we both recognize that in the writing in the clouds today there is an individual who would like to see that happen in this country. I do not like to ever suggest to let you and him fight, but for the good of the movement I am very hopeful that your philosophy prevails.

NOT two weeks after this friendly exchange in a Senate Rackets Committee hearing, Senator Goldwater gave us a less roundabout idea of what *he* thinks the Senate Committee's work is all about: it is hunting down UAW President Walter Reuther, who "should have stayed in Russia." On the TV panel *Meet The Press,* Goldwater seemed disinterested in financial revelations concerning Hoffa but elated about Committee staff investigations of the UAW's protracted Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes. "And subsequently to that," he promised the panel,

> will be a full investigation into the affairs of Mr. Reuther's unions as they apply to his control, let us say, of the Democrat Party in Michigan, and pretty much his control of the Democrat Party across the country.

While we doubt that Senator Goldwater can do much damage to Reuther—Goldwater himself might even come out the loser if Reuther is summoned, as it appears he will be, to explain violence in the Kohler strike—behind Goldwater's vendetta lies a real danger of federal legislation outlawing the union shop, applying anti-trust laws to labor, and regulating picketing and secondary boycotts. No sooner was Sen. William Knowland

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back in California to pursue his gubernatorial ambitions than he made right-to-work legislation a major issue. Public outrage at the Hoffas and Dios can be used, the Goldwaters hope, to undermine public confidence in the Reuthers and Meanys as well.

Whether this strategy succeeds depends to a great extent on what the Committee does next. Although the Committee's latest authorization of $150,000 expires in January, there are no indications the Committee will end its hearings that soon. Eighty-odd investigators, divided into "task forces," are inquiring not only into Kohler and Perfect Circle, but into the Carpenters, the Operating Engineers, the affairs of labor-relations consultant Nathan Shefferman, and anti-labor violence in Tennessee —not to mention undisclosed other fields. AFL-CIO President George Meany is giving full cooperation to the Committee, but not because labor trusts the motives of the entire Committee staff.

Aware of labor's anxieties, Sen. John F. Kennedy (D, Mass.), a Committee member, told the labor news service Press Associates last week that he opposes "shotgun legislation" against labor——naming specifically such pet Goldwater projects as right-to-work laws and placing unions under the antitrust laws. But he warns there's "danger." Kennedy, his two Democratic Committee colleagues, Pat McNamara of Michigan and Sam Ervin of North Carolina, and New York Republican Irving Ives lean to legislation aimed solely at thievery and graft by union officials. If Chairman John McClellan—not renowned as a friend of organized labor—sees it their way, Senator Goldwater will not be allowed to transform the Committee into a scalping party.

Are Two Heads Better?

WHEN the newest Democratic Senator, William Proxmire, arrived in Washington after his lopsided victory in Wisconsin, his first words of thanks were directed to Lyndon Johnson and Senatorial Campaign Committee director Earle Clements, the former Senator from Kentucky. The Campaign Committee, whose job is to elect Democrats to the Senate, indeed had acted above and beyond the call of duty in Proxmire's case. Johnson, Clements and the present committee chairman, Sen. George Smathers of Florida, raised the major share of Proxmire's campaign fund. The Committee sent staff members out to Wisconsin to help out and arranged for Jack Kennedy and Estes Kefauver to tour the state with the candidate.

If Proxmire was properly grateful to Johnson and the Campaign Committee, he had little for which to thank the Democratic National Committee. Chairman Paul Butler had been too hard pressed meeting his weekly payroll and trying to reduce the $600,000 party debt left over from the 1956 election to send a dime to Wisconsin. A little free advice was about all that Proxmire got from national party headquarters.

Johnson, Clements and Smathers anticipate that this favorable contrast between their Senate committee and the National Committee will continue to be recognized by party candidates, and that consequently they, not Paul Butler and the National Committee, will run the 1958 Congressional campaign. In that campaign, the Senate Campaign Committee will have money, and it will have plenty of promising opportunities to show its skill: in Michigan and Pennsylvania, for example, where the Republican Party organization is a shambles and in Connecticut and California where the Republicans are badly split also. The Campaign Committee is expanding its staff, setting up field teams to go into key states and a photographic unit to publicize Democratic candidates.

It is a truism that almost the only help political candidates welcome is money. And the Democratic National Committee has no expectation of being in a position to give much of that away in the near future. The party treasurer, Philadelphia businessman Matthew McCloskey, is trying to starve Paul Butler out of the chairmanship by cutting off the flow of funds. McCloskey is doing this because he regards Butler as a wastrel. The national chairman will not agree that the way to run a political party that is in debt is to liquidate most of the committee staff and program until the debt is paid; on the contrary, Butler plows ahead, hiring new people and taking on more obligations all the time. The new National Advisory Council and staff of regional organizers appointed in recent months are cases in point. Many suspect that in his irritation McCloskey is doing more than just sitting down on the money-raising job: he is quietly discouraging direct contributions to the National Committee so long as Butler holds office.

This works to the advantage of the Senatorial Campaign Committee. As does the fact that, with the Republicans in the White House, Democrats seeking favors naturally go to the leaders of the Democratic Congress and take their campaign contributions with them. Likewise, a request for a donation usually has more force when it comes from a Senator than a here-today-gone-tomorrow party chairman.

In his capacity as Majority Leader and as the friend and sponsor of executive director Earle Clements, Lyndon Johnson keeps a very watchful eye on the Campaign Committee. (His relationship to Clements may be inferred from the fact that on the ex-Senator's office wall there are only three photographs: On the left, the Lincoln Memorial; on the right "My Old Kentucky Home"; and in the middle, Lyndon B. Johnson.) Johnson will largely determine the line the Campaign Committee takes and the way it hands out the money it raises. If Clements makes an impressive showing in the '58 midterm elections, Johnson is expected to make every effort to move Clements into control of the National Commit-

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tee in preparation for 1960—and a possible Johnson-Kennedy ticket.

It is easy to imagine how Johnson might present the complimentary virtues of that combination: Johnson's experience to offset Kennedy's youth; Kennedy's youthful health to offset Johnson's heart attack; Johnson's farm record to offset Kennedy's opposition to price supports; Kennedy's record on oil and gas legislation to offset Johnson's Texas voting record; Kennedy's appeal to Northern labor-liberal and minority groups to make up for their lack of enthusiasm for Johnson; and Johnson's strength in the South to make up for any lingering prejudices against Catholics.

Even were he not seeking control of the National Committee in order to influence the 1960 convention for himself, Johnson would surely feel that if the next session of Congress and the 1958 election are successful he has earned the right to guide the party as he has the Senate.

Meanwhile, let Butler struggle with the $600,000 deficit and the $7,000 weekly payroll at the National Committee, with the arguments for and against a meaningful national party platform, and with protests of some group in the party every time he takes a firm position on any issue—while the Johnson team makes more and more grateful Democrats its debtors.

Are two heads of the Democratic Party better than one? From Lyndon Johnson's point of view, for the time being, yes.

Klans and Councils

THE SIX Birmingham Klansmen under arrest, charged with the butcher-style castration by lamplight of a feeble-minded Negro man "just to scare hell out of him," have produced the ugliest crime of the current Southern nightmare.

The Associated Press reports that in the one-room, concrete-block Klan meeting house where the operation took place police found "stacks of literature printed for the White Citizens Council." Also one of the men arrested was identified as "former editor of a Citizens Council newspaper."

Thus we have damning proof, if any were needed, that the alleged dividing line between the notoriously lawless Klan and the self-proclaimed "legal" White Citizens Council is non-existent. Opponents of the Council at the time of its beginnings in 1955 warned that no matter how "respectable" it might wish to be, inevitably it would degenerate to the lowest levels of its membership. This prediction, now having come true in the hopeless screams of a black man chosen at random for mutilation, should bring some soul-searching to those Council members who accepted assurances that by joining they would actually be taking a moderate stand and helping to forestall a return of the Ku Klux Klan.

Disarmament—Next?

THINGS have not been going badly for the Russians. They have been called a bully by the United Nations General Assembly, but they have been called names before and not lost weight. Of greater consequence to them is their successful testing of a long-range missile. Or the unilateral reduction in troop strength by the United States (an act, by the way, which Mr. Stassen privately complained had robbed the US of some of its bargaining strength at the London talks). Moreover, may not the Russians take comfort in knowing that their aid to Syria has added to the West's anxieties and burdens, and that the retaliatory US military aid to Jordan is likely to create as many problems as it solves? They may also take heart from the fact that the International Atomic Energy Agency, which holds its first session next month, provides in its charter for an atomic inspection system which will probably accomplish more than any East-West agreement in discouraging clandestine manufacture of atomic weapons by smaller nations.

Moreover, the collapse of the disarmament conference has averted the danger of foreign inspectors poking into corners and closets of the Soviet Union which the Kremlin would rather keep concealed; not to mention the danger to Soviet hegemony such an inspection system would have created in Eastern Europe.

If these are, as we believe, some of the considerations which lessened the Kremlin's sense of urgency about the arms race, then it must be said that no alteration in the Stassen package (short of American capitulation) is likely to dislodge the Russians now from the hard, uncompromising position they have taken.

Some persons in Washington—Stassen excepted—conclude from this that a third world war has become inevitable. Our reasons for taking a less pessimistic view lie in our estimate of the circumstances which first led the Russians and ourselves to enter the London talks, the lessons we believe may be learned from Mr. Stassen's efforts, and some constructive possibilities still open to Western statesmanship.

Conditions which made the prospect of an arms agreement seem fair or even good at the Geneva talks and right up to the opening of the London meetings last January have not changed. The world is still dotted with danger: hostilities have only been suspended between the two Koreas, two Vietnams and two Chinas; the competitive military build-up of rival powers in the Middle East by the US and the USSR persists. There is possibility of a Communist premier in little Nepal on the Indo-Chinese border and the repercussions that might cause in all of South Asia.

Nor has there been any change since January in our awareness of and fear of pollution of the earth's atmosphere from further atomic tests. The maximum permissible dosage of radiation, as scientists define it, may not

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be reached until 1970, but bomb particles are descending unevenly, and already human bones have been found (in British Columbia) which contain more strontium-90 than our Atomic Energy Commission considers safe.

It also remains true that in the absence of an agreement between the nuclear Big Three, new nations will acquire atomic armaments of their own; and that nuclear deterrence will thereby lose much of its force. The effectiveness of deterrence has rested to date on a realistic appreciation by the leaders of the US, Britain and Russia that to provoke nuclear retaliation would be to invite annihilation. But when nuclear know-how spreads and weapons come into the hands of less rational leaders, what then are the chances of nuclear weapons being used as a deterrent?

And finally, nothing since the summit meeting in Geneva has made the economic burden of armaments any lighter. The spiralling cost of military establishments remains an incentive—both to East and West—for agreeing on some form of limitation.

But all these pressures proved insufficient in London.

As we review what happened, it seems to us that the basic US assumption in London was sound. Mr. Stassen was right to say that arms talks need not await the solution of all East-West political differences. He was right to say that small, first steps toward disarmament should and could be taken; and that these first steps, while slowing down the arms race, must leave the East-West balance of power unchanged. True, the Western proposals as finally outlined by Mr. Stassen were a good deal more favorable to the West than could conceivably have been accepted by the Soviet Union. But one expects any negotiator to demand a whole loaf in the beginning, knowing that he might have to settle for three-quarters or even one-half a loaf later on. Unfortunately, the London negotiations never got that far. And so, at the time the talks ended, the Stassen proposal for a cutback of Soviet and American armies to 2.5 million was clearly prejudicial to the Russians and imposed on them the greater reduction. Likewise, a freeze on weapons-grade nuclear fuel manufacture would have left the US a fuel supply 10 times greater than that of the USSR. And the halting of nuclear tests would probably have left the West with somewhat greater knowledge, since the US has conducted more than 100 tests—as compared with about 25 Soviet tests.

It also appears, in retrospect, that although each proposal in the Stassen package was sound in itself, the whole proved too giant a "first step." Each American proposal contained its own built-in inspection procedure: The number of inspectors required—when superimposed on one another—would have meant a far greater intrusion than the Kremlin (or the US Senate) could permit.

So much for the past. What now can be done? The UN General Assembly debate on disarmament could be transformed into something more than a propaganda harangue if Mr. Eisenhower would bestir himself. He and only he can convincingly demonstrate to the General Assembly (and thus the world) that this country is prepared to resume talks whenever the Russians give the word; and that we are prepared to agree to a more modest "first step" than that embodied in the Stassen London package; that we are prepared to accept the suggestion of others (Russia and Canada among them) for widening the UN Disarmament Subcommittee to include smaller nations.

It had been hoped that some agreement could be reached *in advance* of a break-through by either side on the intercontinental missile, for once they are perfected and hidden beneath the earth's surface at secret launching sites, ICBM's are beyond detection by any presently known inspection system. Whether the hope of bringing missile development under some multi-national control must now be abandoned, we cannot yet say, but it is clear that nothing must impede an all-out American drive to catch up with and outdistance the Russians in this critical area of weapons development. We are now required also to re-examine the balance between our military forces: have we either the air transport or the conventional weapons and troops that would be needed in any "police action," as distinguished from an all-out war?

In addition, the administration should now re-examine the possibility of UN control of arms traffic. Renewed attention too must be given by the US (and the UN) to the establishment of a permanent UN police force—patterned after the force now in Sinai—available to the General Assembly in the event the Security Council is prevented by veto from acting against an aggressor.

Mr. Stassen deserves commendation for outsitting the opposition—for once an American made Soviet spokesmen beg for an end to the discussions. But his experience suggests the wisdom of re-tooling some of the machinery of our diplomacy. Unless Armageddon intervenes, disarmament will remain on the agenda. Mr. Stassen's office in the Department of State should be given authority, by legislation if necessary, to continue its explorations. Whether Mr. Stassen stays or goes, there will be need of a permanent staff of specialists who understand the complex and shifting relationship between new weapons and foreign policy.

Vote for Our Man

THE DECISION of the Administration to lobby for the election of an American Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency is a mistake. We say this without criticism of the candidate, Rep. Sterling Cole (R, N. Y.), who is a bystander in a controversy between agencies. Atomic Energy Commissioner Strauss demanded his own spokesman to head the new agency, and since the Admiral is a high-powered operator, he

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IN ORDER to bring our readers the timely report on resistance in the South ("With All Deliberate Speed" page 11), we have delayed publication of the article by Reed Whittemore on "The Watchers, Waiters and Writers of Wall Street," announced for this issue, until the issue of September 30.

prevailed. The State Department, wringing its hands, withdrew its objections.

For 12 years, the US has been criticized by other UN members (often justly) for our near monopoly of top positions in UN agencies. On the insistence of the Treasury Department, the World Bank has been headed by Americans since its establishment in 1944 (John J. McCloy, Eugene Black). Americans sponsored by the Department of Agriculture have directed the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization during about half of its existence (N. E. Todd, P. V. Cardon). An American is now serving a five-year term as head of UNESCO (Luther Evans). David Morse, another American, has just completed his 10-year term as top man in the International Labor Office, and has been re-elected for another 10 years. So far, only a Canadian and a Brazilian have headed the World Health Organization, but the US Public Health Service is working on that and will urge the selection next year of a young and able American, H. Vanzile Hyde.

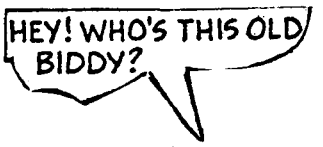
At first, the Russians—who generally show keen political sense when it comes to staffing any UN secretariats—agreed to accept an American as director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, provided Russians were allowed to direct atomic personnel, technical assistance, and the worldwide pool of atomic fuel. When the US understandably refused this bargain, the Russians announced they would oppose Mr. Cole's candidacy in Vienna next month.

The experience of Fiorello LaGuardia as Director of the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration should have convinced Washington that to place an American at the head of an agency which gives materials to some countries, denies them to others and tries to police distribution of materials can only bring abuse upon the nation which has supplied the director. Were this understood, the world's greatest atomic power would now step aside in favor of a qualified candidate for Director-General of IAEA from a smaller nation.

Mary Worm & Mr. Rapp

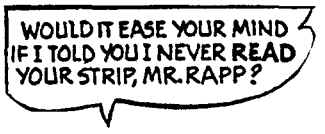
FOR THE PAST several weeks, we have been following the comic strips with unusual attention, for there were hopeful signs that the nation's cartoonists were bent on killing one another off. This happy massacre seemed imminent when Al Capp devoted several of his Sunday strips to a ham-handed parody of Mary Worth, in which that benign lady was dubbed "Mary Worm," while the strip's author, Allen Saunders, appeared under the equally thin disguise of "Allen Flounder."

But at last, or so it seemed, Mr. Capp had found a foeman worthy of his steel. Almost instantly, Mary Worth was sent to visit an ill-tempered, dissolute cartoonist named — Hal Rapp! This Rapp had apparently been expecting a younger visitor, for on catching sight of Mrs. Worth he exclaims:

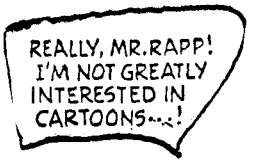


A remark no gentleman would utter. This impression is greatly reinforced, a panel or two later, when Rapp hurls his gin and tonic at the head of an assistant, and bellows

which provokes our gentle Mrs. Worth to inquire somewhat coldly



At this, the caddish cartoonist seizes Mrs. Worth painfully by the elbow and declares that he will *make* her a fan of his. But he sadly underestimates this indomitable lady. . . .



Mary Worth replies with dignity, drawing herself up to her full one and three-eighths inches. We confess ourselves startled by this remark: it is as if Helen Trent or Ma Perkins were suddenly to announce her dislike of soap-opera.

At this juncture, a number of newspapers evidently began to feel that matters had gone too far, and one of them, the *Buffalo Evening News*, even threatened to stop printing Mary Worth if she didn't stop picking on Al Capp.

We were delighted. It seemed to mark the beginning of the end of comic strips, and we took to searching Little Orphan Annie with a hopeful eye for signs of latent antipathy to Dick Tracy. But then there came the shattering news that the ostensible Capp-Saunders feud was actually pre-arranged by the two cartoonists to stimulate interest in their strips, and that it soon would be called off. It would be useless to deny our disappointment.

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Britain Leaves Asia

ALMOST exactly 10 years after granting India her freedom, Britain has given up her last foothold on the mainland of the Asian continent. With Malaya independent, Britain exercises direct control only over the offshore islands of Hong Kong and Singapore—with no Formosa in the background from which to organize their defense in case of need. In fact, the United States is the only Western power now in a position to exert significant military strength at any point between the Persian Gulf and Alaska.

The constitution of the new multi-racial Malayan state is weighed heavily in favor of the Malays—Malay is the official language and Islam, the national religion. Yet the Chinese and Indians are not only as numerous in combination but much more powerful economically, controlling the bulk of commerce and industry. Moreover, Singapore has so great a preponderance of Chinese that if it became independent also and joined Malaya, the Chinese would then constitute a majority by themselves.

Above all, the Communist guerrillas, two thousand strong, remain undefeated. It is still to be seen whether the new surrender terms offered by an independent government will reduce their ranks. Finally, social and economic issues will play a much larger part in Malayan politics now that national independence is achieved. The Malay leaders who dominate the present government are aristocratic conservatives whose social attitudes may aggravate the existing racial tensions.

Apart from these future dangers, Malaya's independence has an immediate impact on the British Commonwealth. There are now as many colored states as white in the Commonwealth, and when the West Indian Federation is born the colored states will be a majority. The Commonwealth, in fact, is becoming a miniature United Nations, with independent representatives from every continent and racial group. More than ever, it can act as a framework in which the major world conflicts are more easily composed, thanks to the existence of common traditions and greater mutual understanding than may be possible outside. Conversely, it will be subjected to strains far greater than ever before, making high demands on the tolerance and adaptability of all its members.

This was well exemplified by the uproar over the British Defense Minister's remarks in Australia. In the hope of calming Australia's fear that Britain might abandon all military interest in Southeast Asia, Duncan Sandys used the familiar argument that atomic weapons would make up for any reduction in Britain's local forces, and suggested that he might station atomic bombers in Malaya. Almost the first action of the new Malayan Prime Minister was to reject this suggestion; in fact the Malays see themselves as becoming an Asian Switzerland.

Another problem of vital concern for Britain is Malaya's readiness to remain in the sterling area. In the past Malayan rubber and tin have contributed essential dollars to the area. If, as is likely, the new government demands a free hand with its dollar earnings, this will increase the pressure on Britain to choose between convertibility and an economic union with Europe.

Malaya's impact on her Asian neighbors is difficult to predict. The two Asian Great Powers—India and China—both have large national minorities in Malaya, and this may serve to keep Malaya neutral in world politics, at least so long as India and China remain friendly to one another. On the other hand, Malaya's racial predilection for close relations with Indonesia, which also has a large Chinese minority, poses dangers as well as opportunities. Finally, an independent and democratic Malaya by its very existence may have a subversive influence on the present regimes in Thailand and South Viet Nam. Though the withdrawal from Malaya ends a chapter of British history, it is only one early page in the epic of Asia's 20th Century revolution.

Popular Science

SOME FACTS about radioactive fallout are finally penetrating where the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, The New Republic* and the reports of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee ordinarily do not reach. In the next 60 days more than eight million newspaper readers will be exposed to *On the Beach*, Nevil Shute's fantastic novel describing how human life came to an end after a nuclear World War III. Forty of the major dailies of the country will publish the story in 29 installments—the first time in 30 years most of them have serialized a book of fiction.

The sensational nature of Shute's story ("Read *On the Beach*—Atomic End of the World—In the Inquirer," reads an eight-column banner headline in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*), makes it a natural for circulation promotion. But most of the editors who have bought serial rights insist their motive is less mercenary: they wish to alert the public to the atomic horrors that may lie ahead. Motion picture rights have been bought by Producer Stanley Kramer, thus assuring that Mr. Shute's message of doom will reach additional millions via the screen.

The publishers of the book, William Morrow and Company, are meanwhile finding this a very profitable crusade. Six weeks after publication, 99,500 copies are in print: the firm expects sales to top those of any other title it has published, including *Lost Horizon*. And after almost a year as Number One on the best-seller list, *Peyton Place* is losing out to *On the Beach*.

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THE BATTLE OF BONN

It was a tremendous personal victory for Adenauer—UP Sept. 16

IT WAS an autumn evening,
Old Konrad's work was done,
And he before the Chancellery
Sat basking in the sun;
And by him sported, plump and clean,
His bouncing grandchild, Wilhelmine.

The streets of Bonn were simply crammed
With Christian Democrats
Who came to shake him by the hand,
Or passing raised their hats.
'Now tell me, grandpapa' said she,
'Just how you gained the victory.'

'Well, once upon a time, he said,
West Germany was poor,
But I have made her strong and free,
Successful and secure,
With Europe's hardest currency,
And bursting with prosperity.'

'If that's the case,' cried Wilhelmine
'It seems to me quite strange
That anyone in Germany
Should want to make a change.'
He said 'It seems the same to me,
But that's what's called democracy.

'A rival party tried its best
My Germans to divide
And argued that the East and West
Should be reunified;
Two Germanies there should not be
But only one big Germany.'

Then little Wilhelmine declared
'I can't say they were wrong,
For East and Western Germany
Together must belong.'
Old Konrad said 'I don't agree,
For that would mean neutrality.

'The wicked Russian giant then
Our Deutschland would devour,
And we would be ungrateful to
Good Uncle Eisenhower
Who kindly gave a guarantee
Protecting Western Germany.

'To reunite the East and West
I did not ask a vote;
The prospect of One Germany
Is *Gott sei Dank!* remote;
For Eastern Germans are, you see,
The poor side of the family.

'THE Social Democrats fought on
But nothing they could do,
Because your grandpapa had made
A fairy tale come true,
And Western Germans all through me
Live ever after, happily.

'The fight to turn me out of Bonn
Was quite ridiculous.'
'If that's the case' said Wilhelmine,
'Then why make so much fuss?'
'Du bist ein dummes Kind,' snapped he,
'It is a famous victory . . . '

SAGITTARIUS

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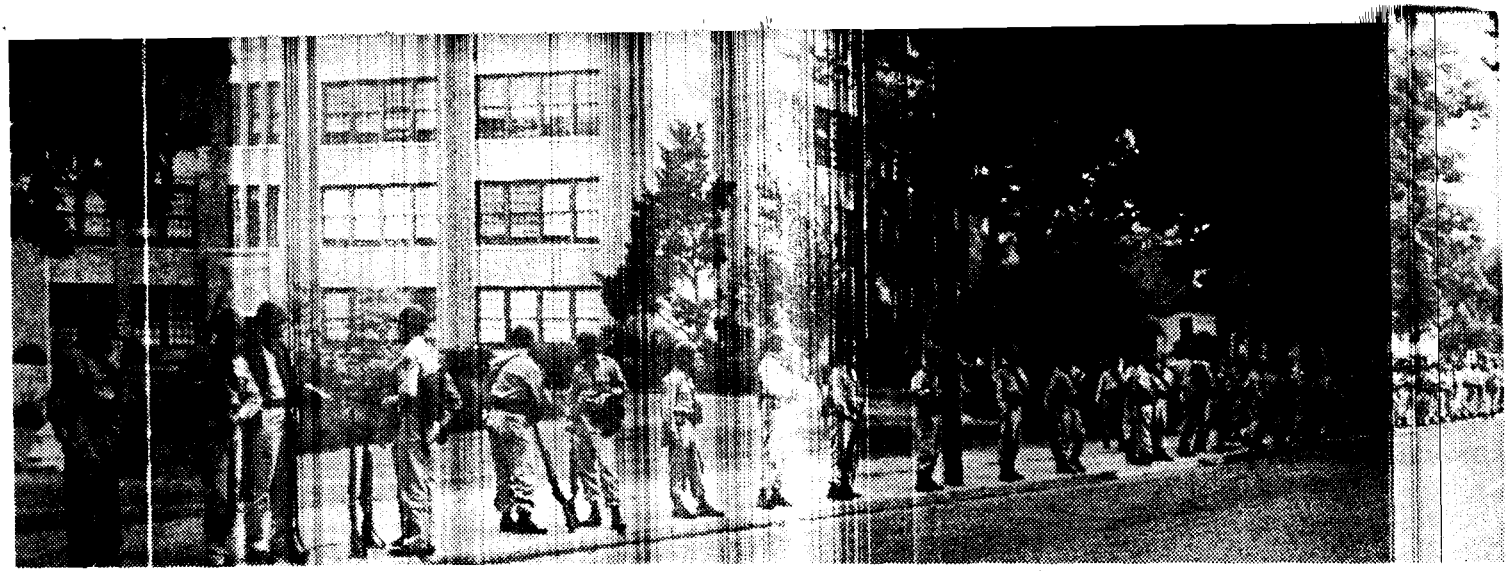

"With All Deliberate Speed"

HOW does what has been happening in Little Rock these past two weeks compare with resistance in the rest of the South to the Supreme Court's intentions on school integration?

PROBABLY no other journalist is in a better position to answer this question objectively than Don Shoemaker, Executive Director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, an impartial fact-finding organization in the field of segregation-desegregation, set up in 1954 by six prominent Southern newspaper editors and educators, financed by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. SERS, which publishes the monthly *Southern School News*, is "neither pro-segregationist nor anti-segregation, but simply reports the facts as it finds them state by state." F. R. Ahlgren, editor of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, is chairman.

MR. SHOEMAKER formerly was editor of the *Asheville* (N.C.) *Citizen* and is editor of *With All Deliberate Speed*, to be published October 20 by Harper and Brothers. The following article was first presented before the American Political Science Association.

by DON SHOEMAKER

THREE YEARS and four months after the United States Supreme Court decision against segregation in the public schools, rather less than one-fourth of the biracial school districts in 17 Southern and border states were in compliance with what many persons, but not all Southerners, regard as "the law of the land."

Of these some 740 districts, only 16 were located outside the thin tier of border states circumscribing the old South. The only so-called "breakthrough" of integration in the states of the Southeast occurred in North Carolina, and only in the third year. Seven of these eight states—Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—remained tightly segregated at the elementary and secondary levels. Of the seven, only Virginia and Louisiana had enrolled Negroes in tax-supported colleges.

So, 40 months after *Plessy v. Ferguson* bit the dust, resistance to the Court and all its works was medium strong to massive in the area toward which the Court had directed its opinion. Further, there was not the merest hint of compliance in the two key areas—Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia—which had provoked, and given tough substance to, the celebrated *Brown* case.

Reporters have observed that the decision of May 17, 1954, was received by many, if not most, white Southerners with an initial calm. Indeed, it had been widely, and semi-fearfully, anticipated, though not necessarily at this time. Some public officials and some school boards, including some which have been in dire travail ever since, were quick to announce theoretical compliance. Most of the rest sat tight, holding either that it couldn't happen here or that if it did, the effect would be minimal.

A year later, give a week or so, the Supreme Court implemented its decision with a mandate. In the interim

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some border communities and states, notably Baltimore and Washington, D. C., and Oklahoma and Missouri proceeded to enroll Negro pupils in previously all-white schools. In the meantime, also, organized resistance movements hurtled to life in the Deep South, inspiring legislative acts and official statements which clearly forecast the present temper of opposition.

Oddly enough, the remand decision of 1955 won some cheers from critics of the Court and a generally favorable reception in areas pre-conditioned to hostility. A distinguished attorney general of a Southern state who was later to polarize resistance in his area pronounced the "deliberate speed" decision to his liking: after all, the Court had most nearly followed his very own recommendations at hearings in April, 1955. The budding-to-burgeoning Citizens Council movement was less than dismayed. And the current Governor of Mississippi reckoned that compliances would not come for 10 years—a figure later multiplied by 100 by others—at that point a reaction which could only be described (as it was) as pell-mell integrationist.

But this did not last. And so again to resistance, a movement and a pattern which have produced the largest volume of specialized legislation in the history of the region, the most considerable spate of oratory since the Hayne-Webster debates, and the most substantial constitutional crisis in three generations.

The patterns of resistance are easily identifiable:

1. Legislation at the state level designed to thwart federal court decisions.
2. State court rulings and official action which assert the principle of interposition.
3. Defiance of, and non-compliance with, federal court orders.
4. Boycotts of desegregated schools.
5. Social ostracism of whites and Negroes, together with economic pressure on both races where sympathy is indicated with the Supreme Court decisions or where desegregation petitions are offered.
6. The organization of resistance movements, previously mentioned, to fight desegregation step by step.
7. Overt violence, when all other means of resistance seem futile.

Legislation at the state level, the first and most favored stratagem, proceeds from the argument that education is a state concern, that the Court has raised the specter of federal interference, with or without—but probably with—federal bayonets. It invokes the Tenth Amendment. It asserts the principle of states' rights: two states (Arkansas and Mississippi) in fact have set up what they call state sovereignty commissions, while Georgia's like-minded Education Commission has set about to educate the rest of the nation—a program involving advertisements in Northern newspapers.

Since 1954, 141 pieces of legislation have been adopted in the legislatures of 11 affected states, all but one or two of them designed to retain segregation. Pressure has been on legislatures to "do something." As one Texas state senator explained, he was beseeched by a constituent to "do something to keep white folks and Negroes from segregatin' around in the same school."

Hence, six states have provided for the abolition of public schools threatened with integration, either by statewide legislation or by local option methods of abolition.

Four states have provided for special grants for private education. Two of these states and two others have provided for the lease or sale of school facilities.

Four states would authorize or require the use of public funds for segregated schools only. And nine provide for specific assignment of pupils under various statewide legislation or by local option methods.

Pupil assignment was the earliest defense erected against integration. Its Louisiana version (the first after the court decision) and its Virginia version have been struck down by federal courts. North Carolina's version, adopted in 1955 and one carefully avoiding any taint of assignment according to race, has been upheld by the courts. It has also resulted in a slight touch of integration. Generally speaking, these laws provide for assignment according to school location in respect to pupil residence, available classrooms and teaching capacities, the adequacy of the pupil's academic preparation for admission to a particular school, health, morals and conduct, the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school, and a score of other considerations. Experience with pupil assignment is as yet limited. In North Carolina it has permitted the entry of a dozen Negroes into previously all-white schools in three communities. In Virginia it has brought specific rejection of Negro pupil applications for all-white schools in at least one county.

Compulsory attendance laws have been repealed or modified in eight states. Three of these states and one other have given specific powers to their Governors to resist desegregation in the name of public safety and well being.

Teacher employment laws have been repealed or modified in five states, and two states provide that teachers may instruct members of their own race only. One state has a law permitting segregation by sex. Four provide legal counsel for communities threatened with integration. All 11 states of the former Confederacy have on their books legislative resolutions of interposition, nullification or protest, each one eyeing the Court with what could be called, at its most hospitable, a glassy stare.

Another figure in the pattern of resistance is state court action which, in a sense, interposes state authority against the federal judiciary. The Florida Supreme Court has told the US Supreme Court in effect that it, and not

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the Nine Old Men, should be the arbiter of when one Virgil Hawkins is admitted to the University of Florida law school. A chancery court injunction in Arkansas recently set aside for a few hours a federal court order affecting Little Rock's current high school integration. There are other examples. However, it should be noted that Supreme Courts in four states—Texas, Florida, North Carolina and Tennessee—specifically have held state school segregation laws unconstitutional. In the case of Tennessee this knocked the last state legal prop from segregation at Clinton and assertedly triggered the first-grade desegregation in Nashville this fall, much to the consternation of a pro-segregation group which had initiated the test suit.

Defiance of, and non-compliance with, federal court orders is another device to resist desegregation. While a part of the whole pattern, it has had certain reflections in official acts.

For example, after a federal court order admitting Negroes to a school in Mansfield, Texas, the Governor of Texas—following a demonstration in Mansfield—sent in two Texas Rangers (it is said and commonly believed that one Texas Ranger can handle any one thousand of his unruly compatriots) with orders to remove from the school district any and all persons who might provoke a breach of the peace. No one was removed, but the Negro applicants did not attempt to register in person.

For another example, the Orleans Parish (New Orleans) school board is still operating under the 1954 pupil assignment act though it has been declared unconstitutional by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The decision is on appeal to the United States Supreme Court. In Virginia the state administration has made it plain as a pikestaff to school districts under court order to desegregate that they may do so only on pain of losing all state revenues.

But perhaps the most interesting case in point is Arkansas. There the Governor summoned troops to a Little Rock high school where court-ordered integration was in prospect because he said he feared violence. The troops were not under specifically announced order to bar Negroes, this being, in the Governor's words, left to "the discretion of commanders." But that is what happened. The federal court again ordered the school board to admit Negroes, the board said they would be admitted, and the issue is now between the sovereign state of Arkansas and the United States of America. There are hardly any left alive to ask: "Is this where we came in?"

Boycotts of desegregated schools have occurred with frequency and on occasion have interrupted or delayed programs looking toward integration.

A boycott was one ingredient of the Clinton ruckus. Another in West Virginia delayed integration in Greenbrier County for some 18 months. Hoxie, Arkansas, experienced a white student boycott which kept that district in a turmoil for months. One other such effort in West Virginia collapsed when a federal judge threatened to pile protesting parent atop protesting parent until their feet stuck out of the jailhouse windows. Some 20 Virginia counties have decided to appropriate local funds for schools only on a month-to-month basis—which some of them are doing—with a view to abandoning the public schools and setting up private ones should integration be ordered. Nobody claims they are bluffing.

One of the most interesting social phenomena and a strong skein in the pattern is the social ostracism, along with economic pressure, on both races where there is evidence of sympathy with the Supreme Court decision.

In some areas of Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, in particular, school entry petitions by Negroes have brought pressures either subtle or blunt. Petitions were filed in 1955 in Vicksburg, Clarksdale, Natchez, Jackson and Yazoo City, all in Mississippi, but all are dormant and there is not a whiff of a formal effort to bring about race-mixing in that state. Many Negro applicants—which is to say, their parents—withdrew from the petitions pleading misunderstanding of their purport. Others simply withdrew.

In South Carolina newspapers published names of parents signing school entry appeals. In Alabama there were dismissals from jobs on this account. In some instances in several states such applications brought denial or termination of credit, foreclosure of loans and other consequences.

A South Carolina editor whose daily essays betrayed a mild to middling strong sympathy with the Supreme Court found himself a stranger in his home town, though his father was his publisher, and forthwith emigrated to Chicago. This is an extreme instance of where the ivory tower was toppled by the battering ram of conformity, but certain fissures have appeared in others of these lofty and pristine edifices. Generally speaking, the press of the South greeted the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court with equanimity, if not with open arms, and only a handful of sages blew their tops. But the climate has changed. Hardly a dozen newspapers of respectable circulation could be listed as "not hostile" to integration. A prominent Southern editor who might be denominated as such is currently the hero-martyr of two novels.

Non-journalistically, a group, or perhaps it is a clique, calling itself "Southern Ladies," claims to have brought pressure on Southern white women who indicate sympathy with integrationist causes. Or so I have been informed by a spokeswoman—anonymous—who described to me a campaign of ostracism against a prominent society woman who had affiliated with a Human Relations Council. Further, a group by this

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name does circulate literature advocating social ostracism of fellow females.

But the Deep South states do not have a corner on this activity. A Negro family of Clay, Kentucky, reputedly was persuaded to move to Indiana by whites *and* Negroes because of persistent association this summer with school integration attempts. A white man in Guilford County, N. C., a Quaker stronghold, was relieved of his situation in a broom factory because of a public statement regarded as pro-integrationist. There have been some instances of faculty emigrations from Southern campuses, not all of them authenticated for the reasons cited, because of pro-integration attitudes.

THERE is no need to document here the instances of physical violence visited upon members of both races identified with integration. They range from beatings to jostlings, but it should be noted that these overtures of dominant public opinion have been repudiated by the dominant and responsible pro-segregationist groups—and that they are rare. Indeed, surprisingly rare. A forthcoming book, *With All Deliberate Speed,* calls attention to the fact that "the only blood shed so far has been that of a Nashville newspaper photographer who was struck in the face by a man who broke from National Guard arrest; blood from a retired white miner, winged in the arm by a bullet [fired by a Negro] when a crowd of white people harassed Negro motorists in Oliver Springs, Tennessee, and blood from the nose and face of the Baptist preacher in Clinton."

Not incidentally, some preachers have lost their pulpits in some of the moralistic in-fighting of the last three years. But even among those most vocal, they constitute a minority. Some schoolmasters, too, have been unseated or have sought greener groves of academy after harassment by telephone and other occupational hazards: *viz.,* the Clinton school principal who went on to NYU and the Hoxie, Arkansas, superintendent who suddenly up and resigned. But again this is a minority. And on the other hand there is Superintendent Omer Carmichael of Louisville, who was called to the White House and to at least three doctorates all in a year.

Nevertheless there is evident and omnipresent pressure on those who veer from the regional norm. Such pressure has rendered meaningless, if not ridiculous, such terms as "moderate." By published interpretation, a "moderate" may be, variously, one who defends segregation but eschews violence, one who favors integration but doesn't want any part of the NAACP, or one who wouldn't mind if some Negroes entered some white schools—but not around here.

This aspect of resistance cannot be dismissed without reference also to pressures which reach Negroes from the other pole. A Mississippi Negro editor who has counseled what he calls "moderation" among his own people—*i.e.,* lay off them school entry petitions—concedes he has lost circulation and advertising. Other Negroes actively not identified with integration, including a college professor and a school principal, have lost either situation or face.

The organization of resistance movements is nothing new in the long history of the New South, including the era when Nathan Bedford Forrest led the first Klan and his political brethren were countering the wavers of the Bloody Shirt with rousements against the "radicals"—that is, Republicans—with consequences which persisted unto 1928 and even unto 1956. But if it is not new, it is fascinating in its new manifestation.

We may begin by dismissing the Klan in its second renaissance as less than reputable with leading segregationists, and anyway with the FBI close on its tail. Contrary to the events of three generations ago, similar events of today—to be specific, white resistance personified by organized groups—are being governed by men and women in the white Deep South who assay high as to community leadership. They include judges, lawyers, industrialists, merchants, bankers, journalists, churchmen and even schoolmen. Some observers have pointed out that affiliation with these groups may be grudging and involuntary, but still it exists.

THE principal organization is the White Citizens Councils, which is more or less active in all the 17 states with the apparent exceptions of West Virginia and Missouri. It grew up, and heads up, in Mississippi. It has its own press and publications, and it is undeniably potent in the eyes of those who have studied it.

The Citizens Councils claim upward of half a million members. They have splinter and rival groups, some claiming the same name but most often repudiated. The parent and largest group has always renounced violence. Smaller offshoots, dismissed as rivals—the North Alabama Citizens Councils under Asa "Ace" Carter are an example—have not been as explicit.

Southern School News has counted about 50 such "opposition" groups, sailing under various colors. They operate from Delaware through Kentucky to Texas, and back to Florida. Citizens Council leaders themselves are conspicuous and perhaps dominant in the legislatures of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina and (under the affiliated States' Rights League) in Georgia. In Virginia the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty have made their weight felt, as has the Federation for Constitutional Government in Tennessee, which is headed by a university professor. A like-minded organization called the Southern Gentlemen is active in Louisiana; the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., in the Old North State; We, the People, in Delaware and Maryland. And so on.

Considerable legislation leverage is exercised by these groups. Some of their members have run for, and won,

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public office. And while there is no direct connection between organized resistance groups—which exist, after all, because of the highly vocal opposition of an apparent white majority to integration—and Southern Congressmen, nevertheless this movement could not have been without influence in the adoption of the "Southern Manifesto" by some 100 Southern Congressmen.

The obvious purpose of organization is to fight desegregation on all the beaches and streets, in the countryside and at the courthouse square, with countervailing legislation, with counsel in court—and wherever. Group activity of this nature has been effective in overthrowing school boards at elections where integrationist or segregationist sympathies of incumbents or candidates have been at issue. The philosophy of school boards in Hoxie, Milford, Delaware, and Houston has been altered to some extent or changed, while such an effort failed in Little Rock and North Little Rock. In any case, it is safe to say that Southern communities are scrutinizing, or have been led to scrutinize, the attitudes of the sometimes hapless citizens who direct the destinies of their schools as never before in the history of public schooling, Southern-style. Pressure of this sort caused the school board of Chattanooga to backwater in haste from a mass declaration of enthusiastic compliance. Certainly it is reflected in a statement by Louisiana legislators who vow that new pro-segregation laws will be enacted as old ones topple, "until the US Supreme Court retreats from its integrationist position in the face of aroused public opinion in all parts of the country."

THE last method of resistance is simply violence, and sometimes violence for the sake of the same. Candid observers of our regional scene who accept the premise that so-called legal resistance is, in the end, untenable, will say without callousness that violent resistance —a la John Frederick Kasper—is the only answer. For the "generation of litigation" forecast by the late Justice Jackson could be exhausted in a much shorter term. And there is no assurance that Mr. Justice Warren and Company have any blueprint for changing their stripes.

Violent resistance has not yet paid off. To be sure, we in the South surround a couple of major atom-energy plants and we have a kind of freehold on Fort Knox. And a spokesman for the Governor of Georgia recently stated that His Excellency would oppose integration with the full weight of the State Highway Patrol, plus all the white men in Georgia. He really meant it.

As some canny Southern observers view it, violence in racial matters tends to beget violence elsewhere. The South, it is said, is essentially conservative, and physical violence flies in the face of this ideology. Hence the unanimous disclaimers issued by responsible segregationists for the Ku Klux Klan in its mid-century transmogrification.

But physical overtures are effective, and mainly in rural areas where the police are few, far between and maybe in communion with the more demonstrative elements of the population. Further, in these areas the public school can be, and frequently is, a private preserve. Which is to say that, in the still rural though not predominantly agricultural South the school is the equivalent of the urban country club—the center of social and athletic life: chicken suppers, basketball games, square dances and like amenities. These precincts undoubtedly will be closely guarded against any interlopers of darker hue, and guarded with a vengeance.

IN the cities themselves knowing police forces are prepared to cope with violence. Yet an unanswered question is the attitude of industrial workers when confronted with Negro-white equality as personified by school entry. Here is a competitive situation. It had an illustration in the riots, not all of them student-inspired, in the world-famous Autherine Lucy unpleasantness at the University of Alabama. According to expert testimony, many of the participants were industrial workers from Birmingham and other manufacturing centers. Perhaps it is but a short shift from the labor riot to the race riot. Certain cities above the Mason and Dixon line suggest a parallel.

Surely the threat of violence, as evidenced in the testimony of the Governor of Arkansas and as expressed in the statements of other public officials who have had reservations about integration, is a powerful factor in the pattern of resistance. It is, of course, the ultimate factor. The fact that it has appeared only in isolated instances, as at Clinton and Tuscaloosa, cannot be measured as yet to regional significance. After all, desegregation has a limited to non-existent experience in the areas where violence would most likely occur.

Court decisions and other developments clearly toss the ball to Negro applicants for school entry, and in most of the region these applicants have not materialized. The truth is that there is as yet—even after 40 months—insufficient experience with the problem to project the ultimate consequences. Oddly enough, also, there is not yet a region-wide awareness of what the Supreme Court meant, let alone what it had said. Or that it even existed: a sociological survey of attitudes in some areas of Clinton, Tennesee, indicated that demonstrators had never heard of the Supreme Court decision; that they, in some cases, had no conception of the Court itself, but that they blamed the members of the local school board —whom they knew—for their troubles.

Anyone who minimizes the timber and the strength of the Southern resistance must dwell in ignorance of a major factor in the most compelling social crisis of our times. Resistance cuts deep—through social custom, political attitude, and the understanding or misunderstanding of the function of government. But it is there. And it is real.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Wyndham Lewis' War on the World

by R. A. Scott-James

ALAS that Percy Wyndham Lewis should have died a month or two too soon to see a copy of Mr. Geoffrey Wagner's book. I am sure that it would have delighted him. It would have told him a lot that he did not know about his own views of politics, art, satire, Time and Eternity. He would have found himself classified, subdivided, re-integrated, and his abstruser elements served up as an organic whole on a platter; and this would have interested him, though the result may not be what he would have expected.

Mr. Wagner has certainly done much intelligent research and put thought into his work. He has read extensively all round his subject, and indeed is over-

Wyndham Lewis: A Portrait of the Artist as the Enemy, by Geoffrey Wagner (Yale; $5).

lavish in telling us what Lewis' literary associates were saying about subjects which interested him, so that we are often distracted from attention to what Lewis was saying by hearing over-much about what Benda, Massis, Maurras, Babbitt, Eliot and Pound were saying. He is a little weighed down by his material.

Any admirer of Lewis would be glad to have this informative book, and yet there is one important thing which it misses: the personality of Wyndham Lewis. Yet his personality is the only certain clue to his remarkably varied work, to his style, his opinions, his eccentricities, his caprices, his daring. For he is a writer whom you cannot profitably pin down closely to his arguments; but to his attitude—yes. In that he was always consistent.

I first met him through Ford Madox Ford in connection with *The English Review*, and later my own periodical, *The New Weekly* (in 1914) to which he contributed. At that time he was an extraordinary combination of seriousness and gaiety. He was very certain of himself, very positive, yet ready to listen, and occasionally a radiant smile would spread over his face banishing the sterner glare of assertion. He was not, like so many of his associates, a theorist first, an artist afterwards. He started from his vision, and it was from his vision that he gained the conviction on which his theories were based. He did not begin by deciding that he would be an Abstract painter, and proceed to make Abstract paintings. He was impelled by his dislike of the "prettiness" of conventional painting and the silliness of conventional society; the vapidity, the vagueness, the restlessness and lack of hard form in all that was apt to be called Romantic—really, the pseudo-romantic. He was not content to modify the prevalent methods of painting; he wanted a complete and absolute break. He was a rebel, then as always, and called himself a rebel. It was from the Rebel Art Centre that he and his followers, denouncing the Futurism of the Italian Marinetti, produced their first issue of *Blast* and the doctrines of Vorticism.

Mr. Wagner has treated Vorticism very seriously, much more seriously than Lewis did in his middle and later life. The truth is that Vorticism was only half-serious; it was also half a stunt, a gay piece of extravagant propaganda. The Vorticists preached life and energy at any cost, original, individual, self-expressive. They were at war with the past in so far as the past seemed to impose restraints on the renewal of life; at war with the future in so far as it might be a sentimental denial of the eternal Now; at war with culture in so far as it meant the imposing of other men's ideas. They preferred barbarism where it is strenuous and illumined by original thought.

What made the Vorticists attractive and refreshing was that they were so gay about it all. They engaged in propaganda, under the leadership of Lewis, with the combined earnestness and light-heartedness of sportsmen. This was the spirit in which *Blast No. 1*, a bulky volume with a magenta cover, large type, sensational headlines, and short staccato sentences, made its appearance in the last week of June, 1914. On the evening of its publication, when it happened that a party was being given at my flat, there were loud knocks at the door, and in came Lewis and half a dozen other members of the Rebel Art Centre, following their leader in a ballet-like dance across the floor, each carrying under his arm a copy of *Blast*, red-hot from the printers. The battle was on.

Through Vorticism, through *Blast*, through the more uncompromising of his Abstract paintings and the urge of a dynamic personality Lewis achieved his more immediate objective. He created a sensation in the art world such that thereafter British art, and for that matter American art too, were never to be quite the same again. He let loose a flood of experiment which was to pour through many and devious channels, though he himself partially withdrew from his extreme position, painting many pictures which were only half Abtract, and many which were not Abstract at all.

VERY early Lewis had been writer as well as painter. His first novel, *Tarr*, published in 1918 but written several years earlier, attracted the attention of the critics in England and America, receiving much high praise and some abuse.

Immature as this first book was, there were already that force and almost brutal frankness which were to characterize most of his writing. In this stark picture of a mixed circle of Bohemians living in Paris he stripped his characters to the bone and showed through their behavior the conflict between intellect, will and imagination on the one side and vagueness, sensuality and commonness on the other. In a later novel, *The Apes of God*, his theme was similar, but he was less concerned to make individual characters than to satirize the self-conscious, initiative social animal that became conspicuous in London after the first war, depicting the hollow-

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ness of its passions and the grotesque absurdity of its pretensions. The list of his novels reached a triumphant conclusion with the publication in 1955 of *Monstre Gai* and *Malign Fiesta*, which, with the earlier *Childermass*, constitute three volumes of *The Human Age*.

But Wyndham Lewis as man of letters was not content to write novels alone. From the beginning of his life to the end he was Enemy No. 1. But what was this magnificent Enemy? Against what was he fighting? There is much in Lewis' clear, forceful, sledgehammer style which recalls Nietzsche. The Enemy, like the superman, was the supreme individual who rested upon his own character and his own originative thought, and despised the slave mentality of the herd. He was of the intellectual élite, an aristocrat by character, thought and imagination, not to be led astray by the illusions of our time, by catchwords, by hypocrisy, by the windy vaporings of pseudo-mystics and pseudo-romanticists. There was much of the romantic in Lewis. The very zeal with which quixotically and ferociously he spent his life in attacking foes some of whom were quite imaginary showed the streak of incurable romanticism in his nature.

But it was a very masculine romanticism. He was out to expose elements in modern society which he thought decadent — the power of money and vested interests, the prevalence of cant in public affairs, the hypocrisy of men who wrote to please the masses, the vanity of those who strained after novelty for novelty's sake, the silliness of fashionable coteries, the ideological illusions of those who blindly pursued what they thought of as democracy or Fascism. Whenever he became possessed with an idea he wrote a book about it, and he wrote too many books on political or sociological subjects which he might better have left alone. His book, *Hitler*, written in 1931 before Hitler came to power and before much was known about him, got him into hot water. He was accused of being a Fascist, which he was not, and insisted that he had written his book as an exponent of what was happening in Germany, not an advocate.

His books appeared in quick succession—semi-philosophical, sometimes incoherent, always provocative analyses of modern thought and fashions; poems which rang like hammer on steel; and, towards the end, some gentler, more humane, but still forceful fiction, of which *Rotting Hill* and *Self Condemned* are examples; and finally, the second and third parts of *The Human Age*.

He was, very suitably, a gunner in the first war. I unexpectedly ran into him at Trowbridge Cadet School, where we both went through courses for Artillery cadets. He had already spent some time with a Battery in France. His chest and cheeks had filled out since last I had seen him, and with his now powerful frame and determined chin and nose he looked singularly like one of the gunners in his own pictures. After the war the Vorticists scattered. Some fashionable people in artistic or would-be artistic circles tried to take him up. But he tended to be like a lone wolf prowling around the camps, antagonizing some of his old friends by his unsparing satire and imagining that he had antagonized others. As Enemy No. 1 he suspected the presence of opponents on all sides. At one time, having formed the notion that there was a conspiracy among the Banks to defraud him, he entrusted his money to a Safe Deposit, and that Safe Deposit became his official address. There were so many literary people whom he regarded as hostile that if I asked him to dine with me or come in in the evening, he would first ask who would be there.

He read omnivorously. He took an immense interest in all that was going on around him, in the political field no less than the artistic. He lived life as he wrote, energetically and fiercely. Though he was always frank, he was also courteous, and in spite of all his ferocity there was gentleness in him, which became more apparent in his last years. Towards the end, in spite of the fact that his sight was failing and he was becoming nearly blind, his imagination and creative power did not diminish, but rather increased. The second and third parts of *The Human Age* — *Monstre Gai* and *Malign Fiesta*—published in 1955, are the most ambitious of all his books, and the most powerful. In this prose epic he ventures upon a cosmic theme in which Purgatory and Hell provide the scenes, in a world containing elements similar to those of this world, but on a larger scale, exaggerated, made more emphatic and palpably monstrous. It may be regarded as an allegory, or a Philippic against the increasing depravity of man, or a thriller of epic proportions. His frankness, his sinewy style, his boisterous humor, his grotesque imagination are here deployed more effectively than ever before. The fourth book of the epic, which would have transported us to Paradise, was never written.

Checkmate

Anger is certain—
And always hungry
For the pale flesh of a tear,
To crack the sinews of another's will,
And suck the marrow of a sigh. Poised in the folds
Of each warm moment, darkly it proffers
The simple act: the stroking
Claw, the spasm.
No end to it.

Only equally certain love, thirsting always
To cool laughter, mead of lightly laid
Hands, spins in ritual light
With darkness, glow in shadow,
Counters orgy
With lasting awe, slashing
Claw with circled dance, buckles to
Rhythm beast and spasm to make of one
A knightly kin, the other, a sign of grace.

Thomas Fitzsimmons

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Keepers of the Constitution

by Alfred L. Scanlan

BERNARD SCHWARTZ, a young professor of constitutional and administrative law at New York University, has provided an interesting, orderly, articulate and meritorious book here in his most recent work in the field of American public law. His careful but never tedious analysis of the workings of the Supreme Court, in my opinion, is the most significant contribution toward public understanding of our high tribunal since Robert Jackson's *The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy* was published in 1941. Schwartz has spelled out what the more sophisticated members of the bar and of the political science fraternity know to be the fact: The Supreme Court of the United States is primarily an instrument of political government. Though the determinations of public policy which it must make are presented to it through the medium of the law suit, they are, for the most part, questions which in other countries would be the stuff of political controversy and, in the less mature, even of revolution. The Court's role in American Government, as De Tocqueville early but accurately observed, is primordial. Accordingly, Schwartz is correct in pointing out that, while American political history may not be written exclusively in the terms of leading Supreme Court decisions, it can not really be understood unless those decisions are comprehended.

The Supreme Court, by Bernard Schwartz (Ronald; $6.50).

It is the author's prime thesis that since 1937—even before Hugo Black (the first New Deal judge) had taken his place on the high bench—the Supreme Court has been exercising, with conspicuous exceptions, an attitude of judicial deference or restraint in passing upon the actions of the Congress, the state legislatures, and those of the federal and state administrative agencies. The effect of this adherence to judicial self-restraint on the part of the Supreme Court has been to produce a veritable revolution in our public-law jurisprudence. Unlike the Nine Old Men, the Court since 1937 has understood and properly carried out its duties as the keeper of the Constitution.

THE PEOPLE speak (and democracy, in the main, must work or fail) through elected representatives. The Supreme Court, on the other hand, has a more conservative function to fulfill. Non-elective, not immediately responsive to public sentiment, and never really a contemporaneous institution of government, (since its members are usually those of a generation prior), the Court is entrusted with interpreting a Constitution which in itself is essentially a conservative check on the present by the past.

Still, the Court must construe that document so as to permit the Nation and the States to deal with problems of the present and not those of the past. It can only carry out that function effectively if it concedes that judges are fallible and bases its decisions not on its view of the wisdom or desirability of legislation or administrative action but only upon reasonableness of such action. Schwartz shows that the Supreme Court agrees with that proposition and has applied it consistently since 1937.

However, having congratulated the Court for its espousal of judicial self-restraint, Professor Schwartz proceeds to take several of its members apart for their refusal to be properly deferent to legislative or executive action in the field of civil liberties. Justices Black and Douglas and the late Justices Murphy and Rutledge are his favorite targets here.

SCHWARTZ contends that the Black-Douglas faction, by rejecting judicial restraint in favor of judicial activism in their review of legislative action in the areas enumerated above, are guilty of the same misapplication of the judicial function as the conservative justices who promiscuously struck down state and federal laws from 1920 through the middle thirties. Schwartz agrees with Justice Frankfurter that there are no "preferred" Constitutional rights. As the late Justice Jackson put it, you can not establish firsts "without thereby establishing seconds" among Constitutional rights. Schwartz believes that the Constitution is not based "upon a hierarchy but upon an equality of values." Consequently, he claims, if self-restraint before the legislator is the proper posture for the Court to take in cases involving property rights or economic regulation, there is no reason why this should not also be true in cases involving personal rights.

In expounding this view, the author argues that it had its genesis with Holmes and that its true prophet is Frankfurter. In my opinion, he is right only in his designation of Frankfurter as the most consistent current expounder of this conception of the Court's function.

However, the view that he states is neither Holmesian in origin nor correct in content. There is an interesting paradox in the Holmes tradition. When resolved, the paradox reveals that Frankfurter, Schwartz, and the others who dispute a "preferred position" for the personal liberties protected by the Bill of Rights are off the mark in their understanding of the proper role to be observed by the Court in passing upon legislative and executive action which has an impact in that area of Constitutional guarantees.

Justice Holmes, the patron saint of judicial self-restraint, showed time and again that his deference toward legisla-

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tive action did not deter him from objecting to legislative or executive action which interfered with or impeded the "free competition of ideas" which constituted the essence of his philosophy. And Holmes never gave any evidence, either in his opinions or his other writings, that he believed that judicial self-restraint was the proper position for a judge to assume in the face of legislative action which attempted to restrict the right of any minority group or faction, or individual, to think, speak, assemble, and petition freely.

WE ASK, then, was Holmes inconsistent in repudiating judicial deference in the area of civil liberties? Not at all. Few liberals would dispute that Holmes grasped the essence of our democratic society. That essence is protection of the right to dissent and the free competition of differing ideas. If we are less than vigilant in protecting that, we repudiate what we are—a free and democratic nation.

Holmes saw that. Justices Black and Douglas, and now it appears Chief Justice Warren and Justice Brennan also comprehend and apply, as judges, this conception of the essence of our democracy. In this philosophy, the drawing of a distinction under which the Court protects property rights only within the bounds of judicial self-restraint, while it guards the civil liberties and personal rights guaranteed by the First Amendment with a more active eye, is not only the proper function of the Court but really, in view of the nature of our government, its mandatory function. It is true, as the poet Peter Viereck has observed, that this special protection of personal and political rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights is an aristocratic or conservative function of the Court. Still, it is a function that the Court as guardian of the Constitution has a duty to perform. The founders of this country did not intend the Bill of Rights to limit the Congress only in so far as the Congress saw fit to abide by its prohibitions.

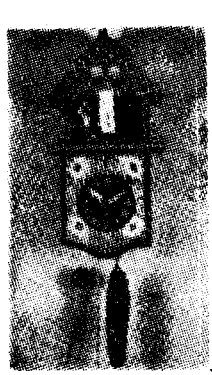
To specifically answer Professor Schwartz's charge of inconsistency on the part of the judicial "activists" one must remind him that when judges refuse to substitute their concepts of public policy for those of the people by deferring to the judgment or command the duly elected representatives of the States and the Nation, they are acting on the basis of an unstated assumption, which supplies the only real justification for judicial deference. That predicate is that the representatives of the people have earned the right to speak for their constituents as a result of having been elected to office following a free contest of competing ideas, political parties and groups, and in a free election. However, when these elected representatives proceed to enact legislation which attempts to restrict minority groups in the exercise of their right to dissent or to assert their own views, they are cutting at the root of democratic government which is nothing else than the right to dissent.

Courts should defer to legislative supremacy only on the condition that such supremacy has been achieved by victory in the competitive market place of contesting political and social theories, parties and groups. When our elected representatives attempt to curtail the competitive nature of the political struggle by laying restraints or placing impairments upon free speech, a free press, assembly, religion and the right to the equality of educational opportunities in the public schools, they repudiate the major premise of our democratic system. Acknowledgment of a broad power to govern does not include sanction of the power to oppress.

THIS understanding of the nature of our government seems to have escaped Professor Schwartz and explains his unrelenting criticism of those justices who refuse to be "judicially restrained" in the face of legislative invasions of civil liberties. However, it must be said in fairness to the author, that on occasion he too suppresses his affinity for judicial self-restraint and calls for "careful" judicial review in certain free speech cases and in situations presenting questions of equal protection of the laws, such as the school segregation decisions.

ON THE WHOLE, this is an excellent book. However, the one unfortunate circumstance, is its appearance in print just at a time when the Court is under severe attack in many quarters for some of its recent decisions in the civil liberties field. Apart from the uproar which greeted the Court's historic opinions striking down the "separate but equal" principle in public school education, there has been even more violent reaction to a group of decisions which the Court handed down in the closing days of the last term. These were: The *Jencks* case, where the Court held that the prosecution was obliged to furnish the defense for purposes of cross examination statements or reports made by a Government witness to the FBI which touched upon matters as to which he testified at trial; the *Watkins* case which held that questions put to a witness by a Congressional investigating committee must be pertinent to the purposes of the investigation which the Congress authorized the committee to undertake; the *Sweezy* decision, which held that questions asked by a state legislative investigating committee also must be related to the object of the legislature in authorizing the inquiry; the *Yates* case, which interpreted the Smith Act as not prohibiting the advocacy and teaching of forcible overthrow of the Government as an abstract principle, divorced from any effort to instigate action to that end; and the *Service* case, where the Court held that in a loyalty proceeding, traditional requirements of administrative law apply so as not to permit an administrator to depart from his own rules of procedure.

These much criticized decisions, un-



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der calm analysis, represent no novel or startling constructions of Constitutional provisions. Indeed, they might be grouped under three categories of the law, all well-known to lawyers:

(1) questions asked a witness must be relevant,

(2) a criminal statute is to be strictly constructed, and

(3) fair procedure must be observed in administrative proceedings.

That these decisions should have produced the frenetic reaction which they have created in many places indicates that a large segment of the American public is misinformed not only as to what the Court actually decided in these cases, but also of the proper function of the Court in passing upon questions involving rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

In the cases discussed, the Court was acting in accordance with the Holmesian tradition and properly executing its duty to be vigilant, not deferent, to legislative or administrative action which impinges on rights preserved by the specific and sweeping provisions of the Bill of Rights. It is a pity that the American public is so misinformed as to the proper role of the Court in civil liberty matters. If they were not, the cries for the scalp of the Court which are now heard never would have arisen.

It is on this score, then, that I am most distressed with Professor Schwartz's work. Schwartz's book can only serve to add both plausibility and respectability to the current attacks on the Court. Therefore, while I recommend that Schwartz's work be read, I advise caution, if not skepticism. I maintain, despite Schwartz's contention to the contrary, that there are indeed firsts and seconds in a proper scheme of Constitutional values and that the Supreme Court, therefore, is justified in varying the degree of deference which they show in passing upon questions involving personal liberties, as opposed to those affecting property rights.

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Israel's Search for Normality

by Amos Elon

IN his new book on Israel, based on a visit there earlier this year, Waldo Frank asks questions unasked by most foreigners or hushed up by the Israelis themselves.

Will the Israelis—especially the native-born—remain Jews? Mr. Frank sees the emergence and dominance of native-bred *sabras*—people who think of themselves not as Jews but as Israelis, and who stare with surprise or contemptuous incomprehension at the vast literature of their forefathers. *Theirs* is not the assumption that it is difficult "to be a Jew," or that a God they do not know has chosen them to be chastised because He loves them. Contrary to the "culture Jew" of Eastern Europe the *sabra* does not treasure his abnormality as a mission; unlike the "inertia Jew" of America (to use one of Mr. Frank's apt definitions) he shows little enthusiasm to preserve something which at best is a poor residue and at worst merely *not* being gentile.

Bridgehead: The Drama of Israel, by Waldo Frank (Brazilier; $3.75).

The essential trait of these young Israelis, Mr. Frank observes, is their sobriety. They refuse the romantic and distrust the enthusiasm of their Zionist elders. What they are looking for is normality. Most, says Mr. Frank, reject Jewish orthodoxy. Many have already learned that the utopian socialist ideology of their fathers (the founders of the kibbutzim) is as defective as the Talmudries of their forefathers:

> The typical young Israeli . . . is cool without cynicism, collected without passivity, sober without gloom. He is the enemy of dogmas. Messianism, even that of the Marxist and the Zionist; utopianism, even that of the American mechanolatrist, are not in his lexicon. Many have been heroes and martyrs . . . they build, dig trenches, turn commune into fort. But this to them is not heroic . . . war in this mid-century is normal—and how they know it! Death is normal.

Bridgehead is the first sustained attempt to describe these trends to the outside world. Mr. Frank tries to expound the deeper meaning of Israel's relationship to world Jewry, to its past and to what is commonly referred to as "historical destiny." Mr. Frank requests that we Israelis try harder to "enlarge and parse our specific relationship to the Cosmos":

> The youth of Israel . . . must produce leaders who confront them with the paradox of their being Jews: of their wants and their needs . . . Israel's quest for the normal could prove to be as fabulous . . . and as fertile . . . as the Jew's waiting for the Messiah.

Whether Israelis are at this moment capable of following Mr. Frank's advice is questionable. When a man is busy fighting for his life he rarely pauses to consider transcendental problems; the *sabra's* relationship to his "cosmos" can hardly be expected to occupy the minds of lads along the Syrian border or on board destroyers in the Gulf of Aqaba.

Notes on Contributors

R. A. SCOTT-JAMES is a British man of letters. THOMAS FITZSIMMONS was formerly an *NR* staff writer. ALFRED L. SCANLAN practices law in Washington, D. C. AMOS ELAN is Washington correspondent of *Haaretz Tel Aviv*. PHILIP ROTH is on the English faculty of the University of Chicago.

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TELEVISION

Coronation on Channel Two

THE FIRST few moments under the crown must be perilous ones for a new Miss America; not only must the young lady extricate herself from the gleeful ooze secreted by the master of ceremonies, Bert Parks, but she must not falter under the pandemonium of music, flashbulbs, and applause. In recent years humility has been fashionable, and the young ladies have swooned, fluttered, wept, and thanked God. If I remember correctly, it was Miss America of 1955 who greeted the news of her elevation with the cry, "Oh, Daddy!" Young Marilyn Van Derbur of Denver, Colorado, however, restrained her paternal devotion, and on the evening of September 7 before millions of TV viewers, accepted the Miss America title with a smile and a glow. The crown glistened on her head as she walked gracefully down the Convention Hall runway "to meet"—as Parks put it —"her subjects." Behind her, in tones reminiscent of Dick Powell, Parks himself bellowed out the Miss America song—

> There she goes, Miss America,
> There she goes, your ideal,
> The dream of a million girls . . .

Miss Van Derbur glowed. The audience of 20,000 stood and applauded. Miss Van Derbur's mother, father, and three sisters were rushed up on to the stage. "It's a dream every mother has," Mrs. Van Derbur told Bert Parks. Then the new Miss America was whisked back stage to be presented with her first treasure, a Philco TV set.

Earlier in the evening Miss Van Derbur, along with nine other semi-finalists, had appeared on the stage to display her talent, which happened to be playing the Hammond organ while smiling. Some of the other girls did the Charleston while smiling, played the accordion while smiling, and sang while smiling. More ambitious talents were displayed by Miss Oklahoma, who recited Edna St. Vincent Millay with gestures, and Miss Nevada, who played a cadenza from Grieg, a piece which struck me as rather energetic to be performed while wearing a low cut gown. There were also two actresses and a lyric soprano; Mr. Parks, who seems to be under the impression that all cultural endeavors are rooted in Anglo-Saxon soil, introduced all the artistic girls with an accent smacking slightly of Ronald Coleman.

After the ten girls had performed, the judges met and cut the field in two; the five finalists then re-appeared to answer questions which they themselves were to draw from two fish bowls. Miss California drew first. "Do you believe in love at first sight?" She definitely did not. "I believe there are some things you have to get to know about a person. . . ." She drew again, this time from the other bowl, which Parks said contained more specific questions. "What statement do you want to make to the 50 million Americans who are watching tonight?" She said she would like to be Miss America.

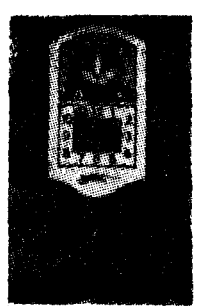
Miss Van Derbur was next. "Do you think a lady should propose to a man in our modern age?" Definitely *not,* said Miss Van Derbur. She drew from the Specific Bowl. "To your mind what is the greatest invention in the history of the world?" The question was almost Miss Derbur's death; she paused and searched. In my own seat at home I started to think of an answer, but the only word that would come through to me was Edsel Edsel Edsel. Finally Miss Van Derbur answered. "The airplane." Apparently that clinched it for her.

The questions continued. I waited patiently for my favorite of last year, "How did you get your crinolines and petticoats to Atlantic City?" but it never came. Instead Miss Georgia, whose song-and-dance routine had earlier revealed her to be the owner of an exquisite pair of legs, was asked what had helped her become a Miss America contestant; "My faith in God," she said. Miss Oklahoma, when asked what her ambition was for her first-born, said she wanted it "to be normal . . . and exactly like my brothers and my daddy." She also said that she was against Bermuda shorts on men, and then, in a last minute attempt to capture the Sunday school vote, that she was against them on women, too. She admitted that girls *might* wear them in their own backyards.

Then, while the judges decided, Miss Marian McKnight, last year's Miss America, made a speech saying how wonderful it had been to represent all us wonderful people.

After the coronation I switched off the set. I sat a while in the darkened room probing for the quirk that made me watch this thing year after year, when I remembered that in the barber shop where I had taken my boyhood haircuts there had always been a framed picture of that season's Miss America contestants perched upon the barber's scissor tray—I can still see all the girls standing in a row, legs after legs after legs. My barber was a sixty-year-old Turkish Jew who had preached hedonism to me long before he'd begun to shave my sideburns; his admiration for his adopted country was limited for the most part to its long-legged women. One day, at the age of 63, he succumbed to a heart attack. I think I would like to say that I watch the Miss America pageant for him. I suspect, however, that if the old lecher had lived into The Age of TV to see for himself, he would be a little disappointed to find that all those lovely legs are really girls who play the Hammond organ, who disbelieve in love at first sight, and who, when asked what they admire most, will talk to the flesh's distraction about their brothers and their Daddies.

PHILIP ROTH



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A COMMUNICATION

The States and the National Guard

SIRS:

IN the news stories and editorials that I have seen about the use of the Arkansas State Militia by Gov. Orval Faubus, no one has pointed to the very relevant fact that without federal equipment these so-called National Guards could hardly exist. This in spite of the fact that in Eisenhower's telegram to Faubus, there was a phrase which, though it was oblique and unclear, hinted that the US Government could make an array of state militiamen look pretty silly by recalling uniforms, weapons, trucks and other government-issued necessities.

Just 29 years ago, I, as a representative of a union which was organizing bitterly exploited workers in Southern states, had my first experience of seeing a strike broken by companies of the state militia—companies armed and equipped, then as now, by the US Government. And like many other trade unionists, I have had similar experiences on other occasions. In the particular strike-breaking cases which I have known about, the governor of the state, in calling out the National Guard, has gone through the motion of naming the companies as deputies of a particular sheriff—presumably to give some legal coloring to this high-handed operation. If these troops had been obliged to parade in their own everyday clothing, armed with sticks and other improvised weapons, the whole effect would have been utterly ruined and would doubtless have collapsed under waves of popular derision.

The practice has been to muster troops some distance from the point at which they are to be employed. Most states either haven't got or won't spend the money for transporting the guard units; so the transporting is done in Uncle Sam's trucks.

In 1928, on the advice of one of the ablest and most learned legal authorities in the South at the time, my union protested to what was still called the War Department against allowing federal equipment to be used in breaking strikes or otherwise intimidating the local citizenry. I can recall very well the polite rebuffs we received from the officials we talked to in Washington way back then. Incidentally, no one—then or later—denied that the United States could legally have prevented its property from being used in this improper fashion by the states.

In the early thirties, when a new round of textile strikes occurred in the South, and the National Guards again were called out in three or four States, a group of trade unionists had legislation introduced in the Congress specifically prohibiting federal military staff from being used for local police purposes, etc.

During the decades since then I have attempted to keep this issue alive. In the Truman period the Guards were mobilized again for use in Southern strikes. Again I made my pitch to the top military officials and to liberal people in the Congress. But this time, able legal consultants to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (this was before merger) had prepared memoranda and opinions on the subject. In conversations with the legal staff at the Pentagon, my colleagues and myself were told that it would jeopardize the national defense to do what we felt these officials personally agreed with us was the right thing to do—to tie down or carefully limit the purposes for which the states could use the uniforms and equipment afforded them by the federal authorities. We were told that certain states would simply refuse to maintain a militia if such safeguards were to be enacted into law or required by Executive action.

In view of what has now happened in Arkansas, I suggest again that the brass in the Department of Defense were totally wrong in their position. Is it not high time that the White House and the Congress seriously reconsider the practice of allowing the States to utterly misuse the equipment provided from Washington? Deprived of these tools, men like Governor Faubus would be a good deal less likely to go to the lengths which have shocked most of the people of this country.

JOHN W. EDELMAN
Washington Representative
Textile Workers Union of America

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Correspondence

(*Continued from page 3*)

Such a continuous balance of numbers and resources is surely one formula for building a desirable peace.

HENRY R. ATKINSON

Brookline, Mass.

" . . . the problem on its head"

I BELIEVE that Professor Platt is standing the whole problem on its head. The trouble is that the word "planning" is treated as though it were a dirty word. If we planned in advance to build new cities to absorb our growing population, and if we planned to tear down all of our slums (not the token amounts the politicians play with to get a few liberal votes) and build good homes in their stead, we could solve most of the problems Platt refers to. But we have never done this. We have always waited until the mess was created by anarchic "natural" developments, and then tried to relieve the worst problems by half-measures.

J. TOBEY

The Bronx, N.Y.

" . . . scientific, total, atomic war"

WHERE did you find the old-fashioned scientific-humanist who wrote that article about the population problem? What an odd world he must inhabit! No one could quarrel with his raising the "delicate" matter of our breeding ourselves out of house and home. But somehow the picture of him turning momentarily from his work as a physicist (nuclear, perhaps?) to proffer the ever-so-gentle suggestion that we have not quite so many children, strikes me as funny. I hadn't supposed that there was any one who still thought that men were so reasonable or that human destiny was still even remotely within human control.

I wonder while he was searching around for birth controls with bonuses for "childless years" to newlyweds and what not, he didn't raise the possibility of acknowledging homosexuality as a "natural" solution. Maybe he feels that such unproductive sexuality would be lacking in "togetherness."

But in any case, isn't it obvious by this time what the solution to the *quantization* of humanity is going to be? Our government and most of our swollen population spends almost all of its time preparing for the "solution." War, Dr. Platt, scientific, total, atomic war, and after that there will be plenty of room, even in Wisconsin.

R. E. ADER

Claremont, California

The New Republic *welcomes communications from its readers in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less lend themselves to publication more readily than longer letters.*

► *Wordsworth by Cable*

SIRS:

I AGREE with Mr. Robert Graves ("Wordsworth by Cable," *NR*, Sept. 9) that economy of style and clarity of expression are indeed rare today: they do not, for those who crave difficulty, present problems. Careerists are certainly the plague of poetry; good poets, of the sort that Mr. Graves has been for as long as I can remember, are few.

The remarks on free verse do not bring us quite up to date. For the past ten years there has been on both sides of the Atlantic a conscious swing away from *vers libre* and a return to the metrical norm. The result is that the "creative" critics are now loud in their praise of the intricate stanzas masterfully used by the junior "great," while in most cases the sense of these stanzas, if reduced to the spare language of cables, would not strain one's pocketbook.

WILLIAM JAY SMITH

North Pownal, Vermont

. . . Wordsworth's scrapbook

I GO with Graves in his admiration for Frost. As for his good words for me, I recall that I never met him personally, yet when I first started writing poetry he "discovered" me and has been a faithful friend ever since. For this I am grateful of course.

And I have always felt that Graves was good, not only as poet, but as critic too, though sometimes I have thought his emphases too heavy. As for the present essay, I believe it is still the fact that the Wordsworth poem is much better than mine, and I think even better than Robert Frost's. I thought it was a great poem when I was a boy, and though I may have wobbled a bit in my sophomoric days at college I came back to my original admiration. It tells a beautiful incident in "the language of the people," to which Wordsworth was committed; in that language, when it comes to poetry, you find the *Behold,* and even the *chaunt,* etc., which in that time were incantatory words, gestures of language. The second stanza is rather purple, but if the people of Wordsworth's time read poetry this is the kind of purple they loved; and if we are able to transport ourselves into that time, so do we. We can't quite take our own prepossessions about poetic language into Wordsworth's period, or we miss it all. But if we don't, and if we catch ourselves liking the poem, we like also the way it ends. Wordsworth walked about the world and made a scrap-book of poems out of all the memorable things he found, to use later in bad weather when he had to sit at home. A tidy sense of the uses of poetry.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM
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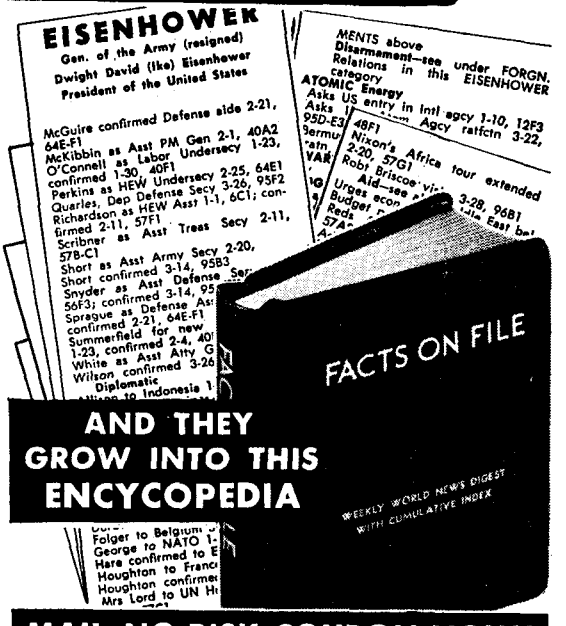

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